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JPRS L/8229

17 January 1979

TRANSLATIONS ON WESTERN EUROPE
(FOUO 6/79)

WEST

EUROPE

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DENMARK

OIL CONSORTIUM TO QUADRUPLER PRODUCTION

Stockholm VECKANS AFFARER in Swedish 30 Nov 78 p 40

[Text] Copenhagen--The Danish Underground Consortium (DUC) will quadruple its production of oil in the Danish part of the North Sea. The firm wants to invest close to 1 billion kroner in the Gorm field which is expected to produce between 1.5 and 2 billion [as written] tons of oil a year. This would cover a good 10 percent of Danish oil consumption which lies around 15 million tons. So far DUC has extracted oil from the Dan field alone where production is around 0.5 million tons or 3 percent of Danish consumption.

In early December 20 Danish and foreign companies will bid for production rights at the Gorm field (no Swedish company is among them). It is probable that several companies will join forces for this billion-kroner project. Director Mogens Rorvig of DUC estimates that the field could go into production by 1981.

The Gorm field could be a very short-term oil project, since the rock there is very hard to penetrate. At worst the oil field could be emptied out after only 1 or 2 years.

The Danish Underground Consortium has sole rights to oil extraction on Danish territory. The firm was founded by the A. P. Moller shipping concern which also owns 30 percent of DUC. The rest of the company is owned by a number of big international oil companies.

Since 1962 DUC has invested 1.4 billion kroner in drilling, production equipment, etc. Last year the Dan field produced revenues of 225 million kroner but it will take another 4 or 5 years before the oil field has paid for its costs.

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FINLAND

TRADE BALANCE, INFLATION PICTURES IMPROVE

Stockholm VECKANS AFFARER in Swedish 30 Nov 78 p 7

[Text] Finland has finally come to grips with its difficult balance of payments problem and its equally difficult inflation problem. But the price is an unemployment figure approaching 200,000.

According to government forecasts Finnish unemployment could rise to 200,000 in the beginning of 1979. This corresponds to between 8 and 9 percent of the total labor force. And there are few new jobs. In September 163,000 people were out of work in Finland but there were only 5000 jobs available.

This high unemployment is the price they are paying for an improved balance of payments and a moderation of inflation. There has been real progress in these areas.

The very big deficits in the balance of payments in recent years (8 percent of GNP) have been eliminated and this year there will be a surplus for the first time since 1969.

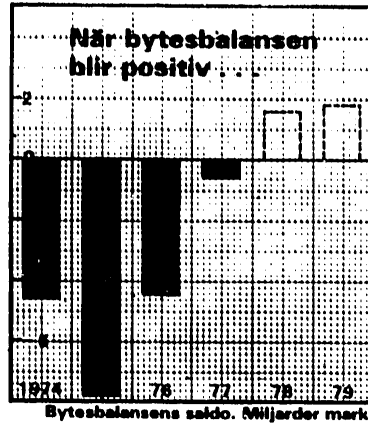
The battle with inflation has been more successful than it has been in Sweden. And Finland has had one of the highest inflation rates in the OECD community since the oil crisis but in September consumer prices were only 6 percent higher than they were in the same period the year before.

It is unlikely that there will be any great improvements next year either in the balance of trade or in inflation.

Naturally it was not possible to allow unemployment to continue to rise. Therefore economic policy has been increasingly expansive since the middle of last year.

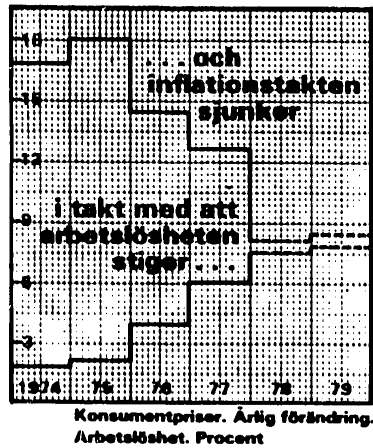
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When the trade balance improves

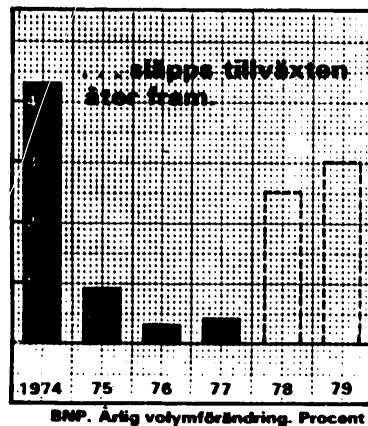
(Trade balance deficit in billions of Finnish marks)



and the inflation rate declines

while unemployment rises

(Annual consumer price change. Percentage of unemployment.)



growth starts to recover.

(Gross National Product. Percentage of annual volume change)

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Four programs to stimulate the economy have been presented -- in June and December 1977 and in March and August 1978. These programs have been supplemented with an easing of the credit market and devaluations, most recently an 8 percent devaluation in February.

The stimulating measures have been directed toward creating new jobs without upsetting the improved external and internal balance. For this reason it is primarily public consumption that has been expanded -- in 3 years it has increased 16 percent (see table below).

Of course an effort has also been made to strengthen private investments. These have declined almost 20 percent in 3 years. Industrial investment volume has declined 35 percent. To date investment stimuli have had little success. But a decent increase is expected for next year. According to industry's own research institute (ETLA [expansion unknown]) the increase could be as large as 15 percent for industry.

Volume Changes in Percentages

	1976-78	1979
Private consumption	- 1.4	1
Public consumption	15.9	3
Private investments	-19.2	2
" " (industry)	-35.4	15
Public investments	- 7.0	2
Product exports	37.6	4
Product imports	-15.0	3.5
Gross National Product	3.2	3

Exports Up 40 Percent in 3 Years

However the increase in industrial investments has more to do with sales increases than with economic policy stimuli. To date only export market demand has risen. Domestic demand has declined sharply.

Actually the recovery in Finnish exports has been remarkably rapid. In 1974 and 1975 export volume declined 15 percent and Finnish export firms lost 17 percent of their share of foreign markets. In the 3 years up to and including 1978 export volume has increased between 35 and 40 percent and the share of foreign markets has grown by over 20 percent.

The rapid growth period for exports is over, at least for the time being. Both the government and ETLA are counting on a volume increase of 4-5 percent next year, more or less corresponding to market growth.

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Instead domestic demand must be stimulated. It is hoped of course that business investments will pick up. But households too will see some rise in their standard of living after 3 very lean years. However this will be limited to between 1 and 1.5 percent.

However that will not be enough to improve the employment situation. Unemployment will increase a little more next year. In the last 3 or 4 years the number of people employed in Finland has declined by around 150,000.

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FRANCE

FRANCOIS-PONCET'S PLANS FOR FOREIGN MINISTRY HINTED

Paris PARIS MATCH in French 15 Dec 78 p 122

[Article by Michel Gonod]

[Text] People are already getting worried on the Quai d'Orsay and in the embassies. Scarcely had Jean Francois-Poncet closed the door on Louis de Guiringaud, his predecessor, when he announced: "I want to make a modern and effective tool of the Quai d'Orsay," which clearly means that up to that moment it had not been either the one or the other. In the Ministry of Understatement what Jean Francois-Poncet meant was immediately understood. People are already playing the cruel game of forecasting: which will be the heads to roll at the time of the inevitable ambassadors' waltz? "J.f.p." has not shown up with ideas of settling accounts, however. He is above all the president's man and this mission was given him from above. It seems a praiseworthy ambition that Giscard should seek to renovate a ministry bypassed by events long ago. If anyone should be astonished by anything it would rather be that this reform has been delayed for so long. Michel Debre, 10 years ago, had suggested a housecleaning. A report had been published, the "Racine Report," from the name of its author, a state counsellor. However, it was quickly filed in the category of bothersome documents and forgotten. After Debre, under the last de Gaulle government, it was the turn of Michel Jobert to attempt the operation. He also was the president's man, he also had been secretary general of the Elysee Palace. Unfortunately, Georges Pompidou was sick and no longer had strength enough to impose reforms. This one was forgotten.

What criticisms are made of the Quai d'Orsay? Its slowness, its timidity, its outworn methods, in short what is called "teacup diplomacy." Anecdotes abound illustrating the "old-fashioned" style of our diplomats. To give just one example, remember France's representative in Chad, authorized to meet Francoise Claustre, who had been held for months by the Toubous and robbed of everything. Remember what he took to the prisoner: a rose!

The reform that Jean Francois-Poncet wants to carry out involves men as well as means. He has the ambition to give more importance to our consulates so that French people abroad can receive decent treatment. He will also take up

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the problem of trade relations with foreign countries. Jean-Francois Deniau, the minister of foreign trade, has observed in his travels the quality of the foreign commercial attaches. For example, the Germans put industrialists in those positions, men from the private sector, and no longer diplomats as we French still do. Too many contracts within our possibilities have passed us by in the recent past because of our lack of qualified representatives.

On paper, "J.f.p." has all the qualifications for success in this "reorganization and renovation activity." He has a great name: his father, Andre Francois-Poncet, was a member of the Academy and ambassador to Berlin during the Hitler era and to Rome during the regime of Mussolini. He made a good marriage: his wife, Marie-Therese de Mitry, is a granddaughter of Wendel. He made a brilliant record in his studies: doctor of sciences, licentiate in law, major in the ENA [National School of Administration], a Harvard diploma. Furthermore he is a good skier, he plays golf, he is elegant in his appearance and finally he is a career diplomat. However, he has never been an outstanding member of that closed club which is the Quai d'Orsay. He has not succeeded. He has never had a higher rank than that of first counsellor of the Embassy in Teheran. The cause of this is politics, because "J.f.p." is also a politician. His diplomatic career has suffered from it. He was at that time a centrist belonging to the opposition and he was an anti-Gaullist and European candidate in the legislative elections of 1967 and 1968. That cost him the position of ambassador to Madrid and led him to leave the diplomatic service and go mark time as a private citizen.

It was in Lot-et-Garonne, where he was a general councilman for 11 years, that Francois-Poncet made his political career. In May 1978 he was elected president of the General Council thanks to the votes of the Left Radicals. Giscard appreciated this: it was the choice that he was dreaming about for all of France, in other words a halt to political contracts, perhaps a new majority, almost social democracy. Of course, the Left Radicals who elected "J.f.p." are not ferocious opponents. They are radicals of the "Cassoulet tendency," the tendency of Felix Gaillard, Maurice Faure, Pierre Brousse or Henri Caillavet. Why mince words? This is the famous center-left toward which Giscard would like to pull the majority. Compliments have been raining down onto the new minister since his appointment. Even Michel Rocard went to see him on his own account with the confidence that "France was going to have the best foreign minister in the history of the Fifth Republic in Jean Francois-Poncet!" Oh, shucks!

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FRANCE

SENATE ADOPTS 1979 CIVIL AVIATION BUDGET

Paris AIR & COSMOS in French 9 Dec 78 pp 13, 48

[Unattributed Article: "The Senate Has Adopted the 1979 Civil Aviation Budget"]

[Text] At its Friday 1 December 1978 session, the Senate adopted by a vote of 180 to 102 the comprehensive estimates of Titles III and IV of the civil aviation budget for 1979 and by a vote of 185 to 90 the comprehensive estimates of Titles V and VI of the same budget.

In the course of the deliberations, all the major questions being asked in France with respect to air transport, aircraft construction, airport infrastructures, air navigation and regional air transport were reviewed by both majority and opposition senators, while the minister tried to answer most of the questioners. In general, the interest of the Senate debates on the 1979 civil aviation budget was much keener than that aroused by the discussion of the same budget in the National Assembly on last 9 November (See AIR & COSMOS, No. 740).

We present below some of the chief topics discussed during the examination of this budget:

Air Transport: It is in a state of complete change, observed Mr Marcel Fortier, a special reporting secretary. The deregulation policy of President Carter is forcing the companies to change their approach: they were made to adapt their strategy to a situation marked by a new increase in the number of passengers transported and by a decrease in unit receipts, and this change necessitated an increase in productivity. Within that context, the general situation of Air France seems to be satisfactory, since, except for the Concorde--for which the working deficit will be on the order of 340 million francs, according to the reporting secretary--"the subsonic sector is holding steady." That being the case, Mr Fortier noted that "The cost-

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price scale used by Air France is higher than that, not only of Third World companies--which is to be expected--but also of many of its European competitors."

On the same topic, Mr Legrand, reporter-advisor for the Commission for Economic Affairs, believes that "At a time when the international competition is fierce, the attitude of the flight personnel engaged in piloting the Boeing 737s in teams of two or three is all the less defensible in light of the fact that the latter are well paid, and that supplementary efforts are required of the ground personnel.

Transportation on Request: Senator Fortier took the occasion to praise as an interesting initiative the establishment of "Charter Funds" created jointly by Air Charter International, Europe Aero-Service and Euralair, to exploit a potential market too frequently snatched away by foreign airlines; and he remarked on this subject that "The major third-level companies possessing equipment that can be used for this type of transport (Caravelles, F-28s and F-27s) would also be desirous of availing themselves of these funds."

Regional Airlines: "Have these airlines made an effort," asked Senator Bernard Legrand, "to calculate the amortization costs, in the case of an all-weather facility, for the equipment capable of supporting it? Have they taken into account the loss of passengers already booked as a result of departure delays or numerous flight cancellations because of fog?" If one understands the desire of local groups to effect air connections with Paris, and to that end to see to it that airlines are given guarantees of air traffic, which in fact amount to subsidies, are these companies not satisfied with the knowledge that their losses are definitively being absorbed by the local residents involved?

On the same topic, Mr Fortier sees the appearance of a "fourth level" in France. He means the small companies with capital, in which the chambers of commerce participate and which, with aircraft capacity smaller than or equal to that of aircraft at the bottom of the scale of third-level companies, are opening routes which the latter do not consider profitable to serve, but which local residents deem indispensable in freeing them from their present isolation. "It goes without saying that no form of Government aid could be granted except in full possession of the facts; that is, the companies must provide the administration with all the information needed to evaluate the strict propriety of their current operations."

The minister of transportation then stated that his department is ready to extend its services to give rights for six years,

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and not annual rights, to any corporation whose financial structure is solid. "In fact," he reaffirmed, "the rights are presently being given for three years and extended from year to year if the airline is giving good service."

Air Navigation: On this subject, of quite recent interest, most of the senators were much more aggressive and even trenchant, concerning the Government's role than their colleagues in the National Assembly had been several weeks before.

Mr Fortier believes that it would be desirable to organize a tight coordination between the various European control centers, and that it would be appropriate to rethink the design of air space. He believes, after due consideration, that the creation of a public organization which would have as its mandate to control French air traffic in its entirety would not resolve all the problems, but that such a solution would at least have the advantage of creating no further problems within the public sector. It would seem, however, continued Mr Fortier, that the personnel is opposed to this out of fear of a takeover by private control. "If one reflects," declared the special reporting secretary, "that the air controller has a responsibility nearly as weighty as that of the pilot, his salary seems to be minimal indeed."

Mr Legrand, for his part, thinks that "The deliberations of a commission mandated to inquire into this problem would contribute bits of information and new thinking which would help in seeking out the agreement which will ultimately have to be made. For nothing is worse than a conflict that simply disintegrates; the bitterness of those who feel lack of understanding or frustration carries within itself the seeds of further conflicts."

Mr Meric, armed with huge stacks of statistics and wage reports, denounced the decrease in purchasing power suffered by air controllers and noted that the latter simply wish to regain the purchasing power they had in 1970. He also denounced the inadequacy of control equipment and noted that one of the objectives of Plan VII, which was to increase the number of air control units and to create new provincial control centers, would not be attained. According to Mr Boucheny, the union organizations ought to be believed when they say that about 1000 technical and 400 administrative jobs should be created.

Mr Le Theule, in reply, spoke more about control than controllers. He reminded his hearers that, "Contrary to what is commonly believed, air space is not allotted 80 percent to military and 20 percent to civilian air traffic needs. The unit surrounding the air space delegate has a goal of studying problems as they arise and of making joint regulations; and considerable progress in this domain has been noted."

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Aircraft Construction: According to Mr Meric, current policy would effectively result in making the Aerospace Agency "just get by," in that it would no longer be a source of ideas or a provider of jobs and would, on the short term, assume the role of a sub-contractor at the mercy of foreign powers. "A poor little nationalized company," exclaimed the senator, "where the servile functionary prevents others from taking risks and the struggles of people are more frequent than the decisions of industry."

Mr Andre Meric stated that the socialist group considers that "Our industrial system and that of Europe in general will soon undergo difficult confrontations in which their very survival is at stake," and that the Government program in civilian air transportation "is gearing down to a point where our competitors are gaining major advantages." The socialist group considers as urgent the construction of the A-200 JET equipped with CFM-56 engines, and it is seriously thinking of building the B-11 version of the Airbus (with four CFM-56 engines), which would be able to play an important role in the market, in remodelling thousands of Boeings and DC-8s, which will be more than 20 years old in 1981.

The A-200 JET project, declared Mr Le Theule, could be one of the components of the Airbus family. Recalling for the Aerospace Agency and especially for Airbus Industries the effects of launching the B-10 version, the minister noted that the only real problem was that of moving swiftly from a monthly production of two to four and even six, aircraft in the course of the next three or four years.

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FRANCE

INTRA-PARTY RECONCILIATION ATTEMPTS DESCRIBED

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 18 Dec 78 pp 26-28

Article by Andre Lesueur: "Marchais' Brain Trust"]

[Text] The communist apparatus faces its intellectuals: for an attempt at reconciliation. The contestants have not been disarmed.

"Cultural revolution"--this is a strong term. A morning daily the other Monday dared to use it in connection with the meeting organized at the Vitry, for last Saturday and Sunday, between the communist intellectuals and the Communist Party directorate.

This as a matter of fact is more than just an attempt at "recovery" of the intellectuals by the communist leadership--intellectuals who have been keeping the internal challenge going ever since the legislative elections. In their remarks, some people furthermore revealed that the most lucid among those present had right away figured out the limited significance of this meeting.

An outstanding cultural site had been picked: the huge auditorium of the Jean-Vilar Theater. There was the usual decor of communist meetings: long tables, soberly lined up opposite a podium on which the political bureau was seated. But for this meeting there was a rather unaccustomed ceremonial which quite visibly was intended to prepare an atmosphere of warmth and reconciliation.

On Saturday, as a matter of fact, in a kind of parade of congratulations, the political bureau members, one by one, began by shaking the hands of some 400 intellectuals present. It is true that the clever selection of participants--personal invitations had been sent out--from the very beginning kept any incorrigibles away. First of all, the entire team of the magazine DIALECTIQUE, led by communists who are keeping the challenge going. And Mr and Mrs Jean and Nina Kehayan, guilty of having written, in their book "Rue du proletaire rouge," some truths about Soviet society which the authors of "L'URSS et nous" did not want to print.

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The credibility of this meeting however required that men be invited who for the past 9 months had been inspiring criticism within the Communist Party. They include in particular the historian Jean Elleinstein, the philosopher Louis Althusser, and Mr Jean Rony, a journalist with FRANCE NOUVELLE, the Central Committee's weekly and author of one of the disputed books entitled "Trente ans de militantisme; un communiste s'interroge."

Mr Althusser did not respond to the invitation. But at Vitry, on 9 and 10 December, one could observe the presence of men who usually are his spokesmen in the Communist Party, such as Messrs Georges Labica and Etienne Balibar, both of whom are philosophy professors.

At the beginning there was a "briefing" by Mr Georges Marchais, a term chosen in preference over "introductory report" so as to underscore the informal character of the meeting and the desire of the communist bosses not to intervene in it in a direct manner.

In a calm and conciliatory tone of voice--Mrs Helene Parmelin, a writer, nevertheless considered it "Zhdanovian"--Mr Marchais developed a speech in three parts.

First of all, "anti-communism." Because "imperialism" no longer has "the means for conducting a material war," it is engaging, the Communist Party's secretary-general said, in an "ideological war" against rationalism and it exalts reformism.

Next came the exploitation--by the right and the social democrats--of the reflection engaged in by the communists on the socialist countries. Evidence was presented in the form of the "ignoble campaign against Vietnam." Consequence: even though the French communists "reject the idea of going off in search of a model that is very close to socialism" and even though socialism, as implemented in the East, does not correspond to their views, the overall balance of the socialist countries is considered "generally positive."

Finally, there was the need for the communist intellectuals to be in the front line in order to defend their party against which an ideological war is underway. Necessarily, the discussion "must take place within the party primarily."

In summary: an appeal to the party's patriotism to confront external aggression; and a watchword for the intellectuals to cease their interventions in the "bourgeois press."

In the eyes of the challengers (about one-tenth of those present), the affable tone of the speech did not conceal the hardening behind the scenes. And within the four groups, which conducted the discussion, criticisms were lively--for the first time at an official party meeting.

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Thus, the criticisms of Mr Jean Rony--a target of severe reprimands during the preceding week from Mr Maxime Gremetz, who is in charge of Communist Party international relations--in connection with an article published in LE MONDE in which, regarding Europe, he had developed theses which were rather close to those of the Italian Communist Party. Mr Rony considered the "briefing" presented by Mr Marchais to be nothing more than a "closed matter," intended to "bring about the digestion of the March 1978 defeat."

"The latter," he observed, "can to a great extent be blamed on the communist party."

Mr Rony concluded his remarks with a quotation from the novel by Milan Kundera entitled "La plaisanterie," reading as follows: "Optimism is the opium of the imbeciles."

An evident allusion to the good conscience of the communist leaders.

Mr Ugo Ianucci, an attorney from Lyon, in turn challenged the self-satisfaction of the apparatus. Denouncing "the men of marble, the men of certainty, who turn out to be harmful to the worker movement," he drew the following indignant retort from Mr Charles Fiterman:

"There is no potential assassin in the party leadership!"

A less lively exchange broke out between Mr Bernard Marx, assistant editor-in-chief of ECONOMIE ET POLITIQUE, and Mr Elleinstein:

"The collaboration by Jean Elleinstein in MATIN is disgusting," sallied Mr Bernard Marx.

"Stalinist!" replied the party thus addressed with vivacity.

Mrs Helene Parmelin started talking about Stalin. Scoffing at the "bludgeoning of speeches" and the "chorus of wailing women," alternately expressed in the communist press," she made the following thrust:

"L'HUMANITE is saying 'mass' and is acting like a 'bogey-woman!' The Communist Party is being re-Stalinized!"

Then Mrs Parmelin called for a vote on a motion in favor of the signers of Charter 77 in Czechoslovakia.

Criticisms were voiced also on the subject of the countries of the East. Messrs Eugene Cotton, Georges Girard, Raymond Jean (a writer and leader of the challengers from Aix-en-Provence) and above all Mr Claude Frioux, one of the five co-authors of "L'URSS et nous," in substance said this:

"The regimes of the East do not have a generally positive balance to show." The challenge was also expressed in sometimes insulting terms. Without

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causing a stir in the auditorium, Mr Etienne Balibar used the term "paranoid" in describing the analysis of the anticommunist campaign as presented by Mr Marchais.

The shortcoming in all of these remarks was represented by an absence of common language. The "institutional" intellectuals wanted to present a united front.

Mr Rene Andrieu, editor-in-chief of L'HUMANITE denounced these "magic words" to which certain communists are too sensitive: gulag, Stalinism. Historian Claude Mazauric accused Mr Elleinstein of developing a "social democratic line." Mr Paul Boccara, the party's official economist, called for solidarity with the socialist countries. Mr Philippe Herzog, another economist, with a rather cold temperament behind a romantic front, castigated certain communists guilty of going back to "reactionary theories."

And here is the conclusion on Sunday: Messrs Guy Besse, Guy Hernier and Maxime Gremetz, the reporters of the working groups, presented sugar-coated summaries to an assembly suddenly aware of having been manipulated. It expressed that by warmly applauding Mrs Mireille Bertrand, the reporter for the fourth group, who presented a faithful activity report.

The Vitry meeting did not change anything. But, just a few months before the 23rd Congress, it was simply organized, according to one participant, as a "useful outlet."

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FRANCE

LEFTIST STAKE IN LARZAC CAMP EXPANSION NOTED

Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 18 Dec 78 pp 34-35

[Article by P. H. Hansen-Catta: "The Opposition Camp"]

[Text] Opposition to the expansion of the military camp
at Larzac: last point of support for leftism in France.
Pretext for the defense of special interests.

"The expansion of the Larzac camp means the permanent presence of an army of frustrated individuals. People of South of Aveyronne, lock up your daughters!" The General Union of National Education (CFDT [French Democratic Confederation of Labor]) has no arguments other than these in opposing the expansion of the military post located on the almost desert limestone plateau which extends above Millau.

The violence of opponents of the camp is not only verbal; on 1 December, a legionnaire on leave was attacked in the region. This revival of tension is explained by the notification contained in prefectural decrees as to the cessibility of certain land needed by the army. For the "resisters" of Larzac, this is a death blow.

Since 1970, le Rouergue has been swept up by leftism. That year, during a UDR [Union of Democrats for the Republic] congress at La Cavalerie, a little village of 800 inhabitants, situated in the very heart of the plateau, Mr Andre Fanton, at that time secretary of state for defense, announced the project to expand the military camp at Larzac from 3,000 to 17,000 hectares (in order to permit realistic modern weapons firing).

"The expansion project should have been explained to the interested persons through administrative channels," confided a high-ranking defense ministry official. "By leaving it to a political party to confirm a rumor, which had been making the rounds for several months, we only stiffened the opposition."

For the UDR, the announcement of the expansion was an election argument. The local population had, as a matter of fact, been demanding the camp's expansion since 1954. In 1963, nine farmers were ready to cede 2,600 hectares.

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On 24 May 1965, Mr Andre Maury, at that time the socialist mayor of Millau, now a member of the general council, had his city council adopt the following declaration: "We want the military camp to be occupied as much as possible." Mr Maury has since then been in the opposition camp. Master Julien, the general council member from Nant, came out in favor of expanding the camp in 1967 and then changed his mind and opposed it in 1973.

Here are the reasons for these about-faces: pressure from the minorities and the conviction as to a victory of the left in March 1978. But public opinion in Aveyronne is in favor of the military. A member of the RPR [Rally for the Republic], Mr Jacques Godfrain, was elected in Millau last March with 55.28 percent of the votes.

Because of the adoption of positions in favor of camp expansion, the defense ministry thought that it should go easy. It underestimated the development of leftist movements and the influence of roquefort manufacturers.

In 1963, a "group of land owners bordering on the camp" in a letter to the minister of the armed forces deplored the abandonment of the expansion project following "protests staged by a few suppliers of sheep milk for roquefort." The latter as a matter of fact were very influential in the Millau chamber of commerce. Now, one of them, the brother of the owner of the biggest roquefort company, happens to own a dairy that is included in the area covered by camp expansion. But the real contribution of this high plateau to the manufacture of cheese is minute. In 1977, Larzac produced 12,500 hectoliters of milk. Now, the year before, the cheese makers had to sell off a surplus of 20,000 hectoliters.

Besides, the support of some cheese makers for the cause of Larzac has been fading. That did not interfere with the virulence of the camp's opponents. Nor have their financial resources declined.

With the help of French and foreign sympathizers, the opponents have established GFA (Agricultural Land Owner Groups) consisting of persons owning 1,128 hectares worth close to F4 million. A portion of this land is to be taken over by the army. The rest, so explain the organizers of the GFA, is situated in areas preventing the properties of the army from constituting a piece of land belonging to a single tenant.

The "resisters" also launched "Operation 3 Percent"; their friends are taking that percentage from the taxes and are turning it over to a war chest close to F2 million; 3,000 persons participated in this operation.

This organization surprised the authorities; they had overlooked the presence of one particularly skillful personality. A former regular who had become a Legion fighter in Africa, Mr Guy Tarlier in 1964 bought the new Deyez, a limestone plateau farm covering several hundred hectares. He had just one idea: to prove that Larzac was not dead.

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Tall, powerfully built, 46 years old, with a pleasant face that rather ill conceals an inflexible character, Mr Tarlier is a leader of men. He has become the leader of the farmers although not all of them have blind confidence in this bold man. In contrast to most of the "resisters," he is neither a mystic, nor an antimilitarist. He is simply the boss of an enterprise. The CGT [General Confederation of Labor] section in Millau was not wrong when, last year, it denounced the working conditions of farm laborers on the new Devez farm. But Mr Tarlier won his bet: Larzac is not unproductive--provided one invests a lot, perhaps too much.

Having sunk considerable expenditures into the operation, the owner of new Devez knows that the sale of his land would not cover his expenses. Of course he denies that explanation.

"Only my attachment to the soil justifies my resistance," he told me as he received me in his luxuriously restored home.

Other model operators include two brothers, Jean-Marie and Pierre Burguiere. Very devout practicing Catholics, they developed along with a portion of the local clergy: from the conservative right to revolutionary Christianity. The elder brother, Jean-Marie, who is 40 years old, a typical citizen of Rouergat, with a pink face surrounded by a short beard, explained to me:

"Our movement has not been taken over by the leftists. We only want them to be present here. They give our fight its real dimension: disapproval of a France that sells arms. That is the Gospel which inspires us."

Vehemently he asserts that he gets checks in dollars, in DM, in florins, which his cause receives from thousands of persons. He is visibly sure that he is accomplishing a mission.

But the Burguiere brothers merely rent their farm which belongs to the Millau hospital. For a moderate sum: 100 hectoliters of sheep milk per year (or F30,000). Now, the hospital administration would like to sell the land for F3 million. A threat which the two brothers find difficult to take.

In the livingroom in which they received me, there was a priest, the Abbot Mazeran, of Millau. An ascetic figure with salt-and-pepper hair, a black leather jacket over his shoulders. He is one of the "theologians" of the "Larzac cause." With a vague smile, which never seems to leave him, he says:

"We are also fighting so that the land may belong to those who work it."

He thus tries to justify the presence of about 30 persons, who are strangers to the region and who, without title, occupy several farms belonging to the army. Around them there are some religious: pastor Herve Hott, creator of the research center and the meeting for peace where, with the support of foreign "specialist," resistance to the army is being developed

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(newspapers, listening to military broadcasts during maneuvers on the plateau, etc.); pastor Jean Goss, who is in charge of the International Movement for Reconciliation, a pro-Soviet outfit; the Abbot Robert Pirault, "special envoy" of the bishop of Orleans, "Mgr Riobe, who passed away last summer.

In this devout region, the role of these clerics and some local priests has been decisive. An official of the real estate administration, judged with purchasing land for the army, noted:

"In March 1972, 103 persons pledged never to yield their land to the army. In spite of their desire to sell thereafter, they felt bound by this pledge which in some cases had been forced upon them. Without that pledge, more than 80 percent of the area would already have been purchased."

Defections however are numerous among the opposition members. The latter now admit that only "27 operators, who oppose the expansion of the camp, are left within the perimeter."

According to the defense ministry, only eight farms are seriously affected by the camp's expansion. But the resettlement of those farmers in the region has been planned. Their refusal is motivated only by "resistance" or by fear of reprisals.

The "resisters" want to ignore the economic fallout which would derive from the camp's expansion, the creation of 60 civil service jobs (200 job applications are on file with the camp personnel office), the creation of 82 housing units and aid for the construction of a new hospital at Millau, the construction of a railroad line, and revenues of about F70 million for the department as soon as the new camp's cadres and permanent party have reported for duty.

An official of the organization, which has been established to counter the activity of the left, the Movement for Order and Peace in Larzac, said:

"They have lost. The camp will get its 17,000 hectares. And they know it."

By way of an echo, Mr Jean-Marie Burguiere said:

"The situation is going to get more radical. We have nothing to lose."

About 30 CRS [Republican Security Company] men have just arrived on the plateau. They were not there a year ago.

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FRANCE

BRIEFS

VIETNAMESE PRESSURE FRENCH--Hanoi has been pressuring various French companies, among them ELF-ERAP, to prevent them from signing any big contracts with the PRC. Should they do so, the contracts they have with Vietnam will probably be revised or repudiated. /Text/ /Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES 1 Jan 79 p 11/

KERGUELEN ISLANDS REINFORCEMENT--Because of the more and more frequent presence of Soviet fishing fleet vessels on the Kerguelen Islands shelf, France has decided to reinforce itself logistically there. Fuel supplies will be established and mooring facilities provided. Moreover, within the framework of the bilateral agreements with other nations that fish the area, foreign commercial vessels are to take French observers aboard. These agreements are to be renewed annually. /Text/ /Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES 1 Jan 79 p 11/

COMMUNISTS LOSE JOBS--Forty jobs were eliminated in January at the CDLP [Book and Press Dissemination Center], the distributors for publishers who are close to the PCF. Fifty-three jobs had already been done away with in May 1978. Among those to go was Antoine Spire, literary director for Editions Sociales [Publishers], who last fall in TEMOIGNAGE CHRETIEN criticized the attitude of the PCF during the [March 1978] legislative elections. [Text] [Paris VALEURS ACTUELLES in French 1 Jan 79 p 11]

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ITALY

DC, PCI, PSI YOUTH MOVEMENT LEADERS ON FUTURE POLITICS

Milan L'EUROPEO in Italian 1 Dec 78 pp 20-22

[Article by Lanfranco Vaccari: "If This Compromise Ends:"]

[Text] As risks increase for the government, the youth movements of the DC [Italian Christian Democratic Party], of the PCI [Italian Communist Party], and of the PSI [Italian Socialist Party] try to visualize what the future will be like. Ever since the center-left, up to now, they have always guessed correctly.

Rome, November--In '53, immediately after the elections, the Christian Democratic Youth denounced the centrist crisis and imagined a relationship with the PSI, which did materialize at the beginning of the 60's in the formula of the center-left. In 1973, during the center-right Andreotti-Malagodi parenthesis, the Socialist Youth Federation, well before the PSI summit, affirmed the impossibility of returning to an alliance with the DC on the basis of the agreement by which the country had been governed during the 10 preceding years. And it was always the FGSI [Italian Socialist Youth Federation], that fixed its attention, before all others, on the strategic alternative of the left.

These were the most sensational anticipatory precedents. And now what do the youth movements of the main parties visualize as the future political order of the Chigi palace? While the formula that supports Andreotti continues to wear away, at the moment when ever-insistent rumors talk of a break in the legislature, around a table are seated Massimo D'Alema, secretary of the Communist Youth Federation, Enrico Boselli, secretary of the Socialist Youth Federation, and Marco Follini, secretary of the DC Youth Movement.

Over the discussion, like incumbent phantoms, hovered the Communist preoccupation to show that this is not the night in which all cats are grey; the Christian Democratic eagerness to wave its own unmistakable and distinct identity, just as those Abruzzi shepherds who, in September, when

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their flocks come down to the plain and mix in with each other, cut the ears of their sheep so that they will be immediately recognizable; the Socialist effort to proclaim their own difference with respect to an equivocal past, the same way that women do who, having obliterated their old wrinkles with facial surgery, go about with the "before" photo to show the difference.

This is what Follini, D'Alema, and Boselli said to each other.

Follini. The problem today is to overcome this political stage. The solution is not easy. No one has a magic formula in his pocket and there will be periods that undoubtedly will require time. On the one hand, normality must be restored among the political forces, within a framework that includes the majority and the opposition. On the other hand, it is necessary to safeguard some of the positive elements of this stage: the effort for convergence, the elimination of many ideological prejudicial questions; the reduction of the risk of a DC-PCI confrontation, dangerous for democracy.

D'Alema. Now I can speak in the name of the opposition, because this is precisely what provides the normality of which Follini speaks. But his is a wrong road. He considers the stage that was opened up after 20 June a parenthesis and not the beginning of a historically new period. One question remains unanswered. How is this parenthesis to be closed, with what effects on the political-economic life and on relations among the parties? It seems to me that this cannot be done without a resultant serious trauma. On the contrary, it is necessary to give some time, some chance to the experiment of national unity, probing the outlook that was outlined, not without ambiguity, by Moro during the last months of his political activity.

Boselli. This is one of the most penetrating of the array of points in the discussion within the left. It is worth retracing a little history. We were the first, as far back as five years ago, to ask for admittance of the Communists to the government, not only the majority. But let us be clear. The interpretation given by the PCI to the policy of national unity has been translated into the loss of a fundamental characteristic of the democratic system: dialectics among the various forces, what we have called conflictive democracy. Without very clear, firm points, both of departure and arrival, national unity became a shapeless heap, in which the failures stand out because it is impossible to reconcile their very diverse interests. To again set in motion mechanisms that are vital for the democratic system is of utmost importance.

Follini. If, on the one hand, we are convinced that a governmental alliance that includes the Communists would reduce political dialectics and, unintentionally, would therefore result in fact in limiting the

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prospect of liberty and democracy, on the other hand, we do not think it is possible to return to the old plans. Everything has fallen through: the former ambition of the center-left to break up the unity of the groups of the left and to then determine the governmental majority; the illusion that the participation of the PCI in the government could stabilize this country by lessening all tensions; the proposal of the historical compromise. And neither is it possible to continue to maintain that the only protagonists consist of the DC and the Communists. Therefore we re-propose a discussion with lay parties, taking care, however, to understand that there has been a break with the past. In resuming this discussion with the Socialists, we cannot agree to reduce ourselves to the status of a conservative component of Italian society.

Boselli. Certainly this is our opinion of the DC, from what we have known of it, from its history, from its policy. This, however, is quite a different matter. We are not trying implicitly to impute coupist intentions to you. We do not consider Fanfani, or Forlani, or Galloni a coupists. But neither do we consider Galloni to be more to the left than Forlani, or Fanfani more to the right than any other person. In this our appraisals are very different from those of our Communist comrades.

D'Alema. Let us go step by step. The crisis that we are experiencing--and not we alone, but also the entire capitalist world--is very profound. The problem is that not everyone is aware, has the same consciousness, of that crisis. The Christian Democrats have a very strong tendency to deny this state of affairs, arrayed as they are for the sole purpose of defending the system. From that, and from the nonacknowledgment of the need to open a new phase in the development of the country, comes the counterattack from the pro-Doroteo and Fanfani sectors. The DC, a certain DC, is set on protecting very specific social interests. But, if these interests are not dealt with and if a radical process of change in the society is not set in motion, this crisis will not be overcome. This is today's job.

Boselli. Not only this. Even if we have trouble in indicating alignments and formulas for the period subsequent to that of national unity, it is necessary to again set up some mechanisms without which the democratic game will degenerate. And to whoever spoke of the impossibility of governing this country with 51 percent of the votes, we say that it is equally impossible to do so with 80 percent. The problems in existence on 21 June, two years ago, are still with us. In fact, they are worse. There is a widespread feeling in Italy that a government is being formed. Therefore we must--and soon--restore the fundamental mechanisms of democracy--of course within the unitary, honest, and responsible framework of political forces.

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D'Alema. But this is a mistaken point. There are countries that are governed with 47 percent in which there is a real possibility of an alternative; and yet all the problems are still there to be resolved; no knot has been undone.

Follini. As soon as there is talk of a future political balance, one that is different from the present one, the Communists manifest a suspicion in which I seem to note a fear of isolation--frankly unjustified. The implied idea, the murmured accusation, is that we and the Socialists long for a return to the golden years of the center-left. Let us see if that is actually the case. In the meantime, for our part, we must be careful to avoid two errors; the first, that of entrusting the representation of the entire left to the PSI, with the consequent actual restoration of the political situation of the old center-left; the second, that of underestimating the Socialist dimension, with the presumption that the game consists wholly of the relationship between us and the Communists. Now, would this be a center-left? Would a DC-PSI relationship that is neither the old, traditional governmental relationship, one that existed out of real political necessity, nor an instrumental, and therefore nonexistent, relationship be a center-left, even if brought up to date, revised, and corrected? I think not. Just as I believe, however, that a glaring mistake is being made by those within the DC who seem to be aiming very hurriedly at capturing socialist positions for the purpose of restoring a balance that will abruptly put an end to that which has been defined as the third phase of Italian politics. Doing this means they have not understood what has changed within the DC, in the first place, but also within the PSI and the PCI.

D'Alema. Let us speak plainly, putting diplomacy to one side. We are now witnessing a strange game being played by the various sides. On the one hand, the Socialists speak of an alternative of the left, but in very vague terms, placing it one does not know where. On the other, from the left the policy of national unity is criticized. Very well. But what is actually happening? This initiative in fact serves to destabilize the DC leadership group that is aligned with the choice of a unitary policy. The Socialist attack, in the hands of moderate forces that operate within the DC becomes an instrument to strike at those sectors of the party that have pledged themselves most seriously to a unitary policy. And, since the conditions for governmental participation by parties of the left do not exist at present, the final result will be the maintenance by Christian Democracy of a position of hegemony and of predominance, with very serious risks.

Follini. This image of a DC divided in two (on one side, a moderate group which at any cost aims at recovering the PSI; on the other, a more advanced

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group, prisoner of a political choice that sooner or later should lead us to an intensification of a relationship with the PCI, seems very schematic and very contrived. I believe that, with regard to this political picture, there is a party approach that is more unitary than what is gathered from D'Alema's words.

D'Alema. Not mine. Fanfani's, Forlani's, and Bisaglia's words. You have to reckon with them.

Boselli. But De Mita does not speak otherwise.

D'Alema. The essential thing today is to oppose the plan for preservation of the status quo that is advocated by certain Christian Democratic sectors. It is enough to see how the Confindustria [General Confederation of Italian Industry] acts when it is time to make contracts: it seems like an ideological holy war, not a labor union controversy. This is really not the time to make hypotheses for the future, such as the alternative of the left.

Boselli. To hide behind a finger does no good. If this government is in difficulty, if crisis is in the air, if there is talk of a shuffle, it is because, in the matter of some fundamental matters, there are conflicting interests that are irreconcilable. Therefore, we either remain stalled, or we try to find solutions other than national unity. Certainly there are varying positions within the left. But this is not an immutable datum. We believe that the DC is a focal point of decisive strength in the democratic system in this country and therefore we believe in the possibility of a government that includes leftist groups without resultant traumas or splits. Here I reject the concept of a dictatorial DC. We are not in Chile. It is necessary to get through the national unity stage in a positive manner and likewise not to cause the matter of alignment to become an impassable barrier, a wall.

D'Alema. I again repeat: the essential thing right now is to force the DC to take a stand on a series of very specific questions having to do with the socio-economic situation of the country. The majority that has gathered around Zaccagnini must be stimulated to lead a fight within the party and to make known those sectors that continue to argue in terms of current and absolute authority (consider the matter of Donat-Cattin and the Ministry of Industry), offering resistance to perverse preservation of the status quo.

Boselli. Evidently, in order to succeed, you are living in the illusion of bringing your members to the next Christian Democratic congress.

D'Alema. No. We do not want to induce ours to vote for Zaccagnini. You are the ones who are causing yours to vote for Fanfani. And that is even worse.

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ITALY

TASKS, RESPONSIBILITY OF CIVIL DEFENSE PLANNING DISCUSSED

Rome RIVISTA MILITARE in Italian Jul-Aug 78 pp 59-65

[Article by Maj Gen Pasquale Di Marco, FAI; passages enclosed in slant-lines printed in boldface]

[Text] The note of "necessity" sounded for the first time on this matter in the "White Book on Defense"; Italy's emerging commitments under international agreements; the trials involved in various kinds of calamities that have occurred in Italy of late; the alarming case of the radioactive Russian "Cosmos" satellite, and other troubling and unforeseen happenings all give one to consider the problem of Civil Defense, and impel one to take a close look at the status of Civil Defense in Italy.

Writing about Civil Defense, though, is a matter of duty, be it only to help shape correct notions, remove perplexity, put some order into the various subjects involved, and clarify any misunderstandings there may be.

Civil Defense: Definition and Aims

Civil Defense is a compound problem that has long been dealt with at the international level. It is made up of many disparate elements, but they all share two points in common: a commitment to it beginning in peacetime, and the instantaneous (I should say the quasi-automatic) nature of its implementation in an emergency.

The Army's military nomenclature says that Civil Defense is the "complex of measures, of prearrangements, of provisions, and of activities which a state plans and implements in time of peace, in view of needs in case of war, for the purpose of sustaining the war effort in a continuous manner and of guaranteeing the strength of the domestic fronts."

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From this definition, aside from the typical emphasis on wartime requirements, we find that a "domestic front" has been singled out, which erases the boundaries of the conventional separation between the front lines and the hinterland, not only because of the enormous destructive potential of modern weaponry, but also because of the availability of delivery systems capable of carrying the effects of the use of such weapons to any target whatsoever.

) From this derives the need for an organization designed to protect the population, one which is also capable of assuring the continuity of the essential aspects of government and production within the nation, including support for its military defense.

Civil Defense, therefore, is an integral part of the overall national defense, and is intimately bound up with military strategy, which means that Civil Defense and military defense must constitute a homogeneous whole reflecting the overall effectiveness of the nation's defensive arrangements (Global or National Defense).

Of recent years, however, the concept of Civil Defense has taken on a broader significance than the rudimentary concept, which assumed it was necessarily associated with wartime requirements; this expansion in scope underscores the wisdom of seeing the system firmly in place even in peacetime.

If fact, any exceptional event (major natural disasters or other grave emergencies) which may affect only part of the country, far from being confined to the zone in which they actually occur, can trigger tremendous consequences for the nation's entire economic and social structure and -- even in peacetime -- require the coordinated deployment of the same civilian and military forces which are the outward embodiment of the entire national defense apparatus, albeit on a proportionately smaller scale.

At this point it would be well to spell a few things out plainly: we often hear people talk indiscriminately of Civil Defense and Civil Protection, as if they were one and the same. /But Civil Protection is only one partial and sectorial aspect of Civil Defense;/ we shall consider this fact more at length in the course of this discussion. For the moment, we can draw one initial conclusion: by "Civil Defense," we properly mean that body of measures to have ready, as well as of actions to be taken, in case of emergency: first in order to prevent, if possible, and second to deal with the disaster, mitigating its harmful effects, making rational use of available resources, heightening to the utmost the survival capacity of the population, safeguarding the economic-productive apparatus of the state, and, in case of war, supporting the national war effort.

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Civil Defense Missions

The Defense "White Book" spelling out the missions of Civil Defense in peace and in war lists them thus:

assuring continuity in the executive and administrative action of the state;

maintaining the highest possible level of morale and of ability to cope among the citizenry in emergency situations: informing the public, providing training;

prevention and hence prearrangement of adequate protection and rescue measures (Civil Protection) so as to achieve the utmost possible reduction in losses of human life and property;

safeguarding the public health and the rational allocation of the agencies and means of production;

supplying, stockpiling and distributing raw materials and stores;

keeping the telecommunications and transport systems working;

utilizing the merchant fleet for transporting supplies and for assisting in evacuation operations in case of emergency;

integrated and rational deployment of manpower to cope with the aforementioned emergencies;

protection of resources vital to citizen survival and to the continued effectiveness of military defense.

The orderly operation and supervision of all activities involved in Civil Defense are, generally speaking, the responsibility not only of individual Ministries, but also of local and regional bodies.

Analysis of Civil Defense Missions

Preserving Continuity in the Executive and Administrative Action of the State

This is a requirement that has to do with both the central organization of the state and with its peripheral apparatus.

First of all, this implies the necessity for:

providing, seeking out, completing and organizing, in peacetime, alternative decentralized and protected

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intercommunicating sites, providing connections with the appropriate national and international telecommunication networks;

consolidating and expanding the telecommunications system and the news broadcasting system for the population;

keeping the operational rules and procedures for civilian bodies up to date at every level.

Maintaining the Highest Possible Level of Morale and of Ability To Cope Among the Citizenry in Emergency Situations:
Informing the Public, Providing Training.

This mission requires not only a modern, locally accessible system of public information, but also training for Cadre in public relations techniques at all proper levels of government administration, which will operate not only in response to the events involved in the particular situation, but also with an eye to building clear-cut and correct opinion among citizens in relation to the countless problems connected with the emergency, so as to assure a united national spirit. To this end, we shall have to:

make use of the commonest of the mass media -- press, radio, TV, cinema, theater, wall posters, lectures, demonstrations, etc.;

prepare and distribute educational materials;
publicize evidence of what the government is doing in this area;

enable the population, through adequate training and preparation, to take care of itself, and to think about effective emergency protection against any possible emergency in peacetime and in wartime.

Minimizing Losses and Hence Timely Provision of Adequate Protection and Rescue Measures.
Civil Protection

Civil Protection is /a special area of Civil Defense/, and embraces any activity designed to protect the safety of the population and its property, and to assure rescue and succor during states of emergency stemming from natural disaster and from acts of war.

The critical missions of Civil Protection are:

obtaining citizen collaboration and publicizing the basic standards for behavior in cases of emergency (passive protection);

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- preventive measures and firefighting or other kinds of damage containment (active protection);
- constant monitoring of levels of radioactivity all over the country;
- setting up an integrated alarm system;
- developing a well thought-out shelter policy, which will include protection of industrial plants and workers in such plants;
- planning for the orderly evacuation of populations in extreme cases.

Safeguarding Public Health and the Environment

From this perspective, certain activities take on special importance. They are: planning for medical and hospital care and, in general, all those activities which are covered in public health policy. These measures must provide for:

- the civilian health organization available for first aid, shelter, and medical care for civilians;
- supplying and storage of medical supplies and of health and hygiene equipment;
- suitable publicizing and training in the techniques of first aid, survival, and mutual support;
- swift and efficient identification and control of epidemics and epizootics, and adequate measures for disinfection and delousing;
- supervision of health and sanitation standards and of sterilization and decontamination of food and water;
- restoration of areas which may be contaminated.

Rational Allocation of the Agencies
and Means of Production

There is no doubt that the importance of production of consumer and manufactured goods, etc. increases with the rapidity and reliability with which these goods can be made available. Therefore, the agencies and sources of production must be provided with a balanced combination of all factors -- including their sites -- which will ensure that they will be able to perform their work.

Supplying, Stockpiling, and Distributing
Raw Materials and Stores

While this particular topic is important to every nation, it is particularly vital to Italy, considering its limited self-suf-

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iciency and its dependency on foreign sources of supply. We need only cite, in this connection, our requirements for fuels, for raw materials for industry, for food shipments, etc., to provide some idea of the vast dimensions of the problems that must be dealt with. Not to mention the management of this gigantic flywheel of national security, which involves ad hoc directives and arrangements with the Ministries concerned for drafting sector-wide plans for their particular jurisdictions. From all this, one sees even more clearly how urgent is the need for getting all of this sector coordinated and planned well in advance of an emergency situation.

Protection of Resources Vital to Civilian
Survival and to Continued Effective-
ness of Military Defense

These activities, along with the preceding ones, share the basic feature of capillarity in that, like the countless tiny streams that carry down to the river beds the waters that feed them, so innumerable streams must bring into Italy, safely protected, the consumer and other goods which assure both the physical survival of its citizens and the continuing vital supplies for the armed forces as they go about their institutional tasks.

Therefore, this sort of protection is a crucial and vital part of national security; lacking it, the entire nation would be plunged into the throes of probable crisis should enemy forces seek to undermine its effectiveness, its vitality, its very existence.

Keeping the Telecommunications
Networks in Operation

The field of telecommunications must move towards quantitative and qualitative guarantee of the operability of telecommunications plants and services, so as to handle all requirements of the national defense. Among the principal requirements to be met we might list the following:

- reducing vulnerability against any conceivable type of attack (including sabotage, which is quite likely even in situations which fall short of a shooting war);

- availability of alternate means of telecommunications, including mobile facilities, and reserves of equipment and power generators;

- plans and firm arrangements to assure technical efficiency and guarantee continuity in services;

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a central and peripheral organization for coordination and control of all telecommunications activities.

**Maintaining Operability of Domestic
Surface Transport Systems and
Navigable Waterways**

The Transport Ministry is responsible for central planning and organization to run and coordinate traffic on roads, railroads, and domestic navigable waterways, as well for study and planning for all possible utilization of alternative routes other than the major communication lines.

Protective measures must also be designed to reduce the vulnerability of power stations, substations, plants, and all infrastructures required to assure operability of all the foregoing communications systems.

**Use of Ports, Airports, Civilian Aircraft and the
Merchant Fleet for Transport and Supply and for
Aiding in Evacuation Operations in Emergencies**

It is the responsibility of the Merchant Marine to take all steps required to assure the uninterrupted flow of maritime traffic in time of war or emergency.

Even more than air transport, the maritime shipping lanes constitute, by reason of their conspicuousness, a field of the national economy whose phenomena reach beyond the national boundaries to tie in with similar phenomena in the global economy; hence the necessity for a clear directive to undertake an extraordinary planning task, so as to guarantee the country's survival in an emergency.

Specific problems calling for early planning at the national level are:

- organization of ports and landing areas;
- port evacuation and offshore mooring for merchant vessels;
- training and instructions to the merchant fleet in case of war, etc.

Utilization of the organization and equipment of Civil Aviation, in time of emergency and of war, is an increasingly important problem in relation to the rapid and continuing growth of this sector, upon which specific tasks may devolve in situations which only air transport, by reason of its peculiar features, can handle efficiently, such as, for example:

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ready availability of aircraft and crews for any rapid transportation requirement;
return home of all aircraft abroad;
scattered and decentralized ground facilities for aircraft;
reactivation, according to need, of emergency landing strips no longer used in peacetime.

Everyone emphatically agrees that both air and maritime transport are vital for purposes of evacuation or dispersal of populations from residential areas in various kinds of emergency. Both these activities must be planned and tested well ahead of need.

Integrated and Rational Deployment of
Manpower To Cope With Emergencies

Planning for systems and means to guarantee continuity in the nation's production and for its human capital is a fundamental task.

It must be noted that the word "manpower" is used here in a very broad sense which embraces not only manual laborers, but all persons who may be qualified to make any helpful personal contribution to the national defense.

There must therefore be an organization in place whose mission is to single out, identify, and make available to the Civil Defense system the intellectual and manual workers the system needs to achieve its purposes. Some of the particularly delicate aspects involving close cooperation between military and civilian organizations are, in this area:

selection of the people to be assigned to specific duties in the handling of civilian-military cooperation (1), without compromising the efficiency of either organization;

the problem of citizens working abroad, for whom some decision must be made as to whether or not they should be summoned or brought home for the emergency;

the question of establishing a national civilian rescue organization to be used in case of natural disaster

(1) "Civilian-military cooperation" means any coordinated action, planned or unplanned, jointly taken in case of peacetime or wartime emergency at any level and in any area of activity by agents of military defense and agencies of another government Ministry or Ministries.

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(for example, not only in the United States and the Eastern European states, but in many other countries as well, there are already organizations for emergency civilian rescue and aid).

Civil Defense Organization in Italy

From an examination of the specific characteristics of Civil Defense, features which have been found everywhere on the basis of past experience -- it should be noted -- one basic and overriding concept emerges, and that is that Civil Defense is an all-embracing endeavor which, at the national level, involves the activities of all the Ministries, each of which contributes to it, in greater or lesser degree, in the area of its specific competence; and that it cannot be improvised, but must be carefully planned, with at least the rudiments of its organization ready for full deployment in case of emergency.

The problem has aspects of an international nature, however, and constitutes a matter of paramount importance, for Italy, for example, within the framework of the Atlantic Alliance. From this stems a whole series of relationships and obligations which must be kept in mind if we are to be able to give adequate consideration to some of their impact at the national level.

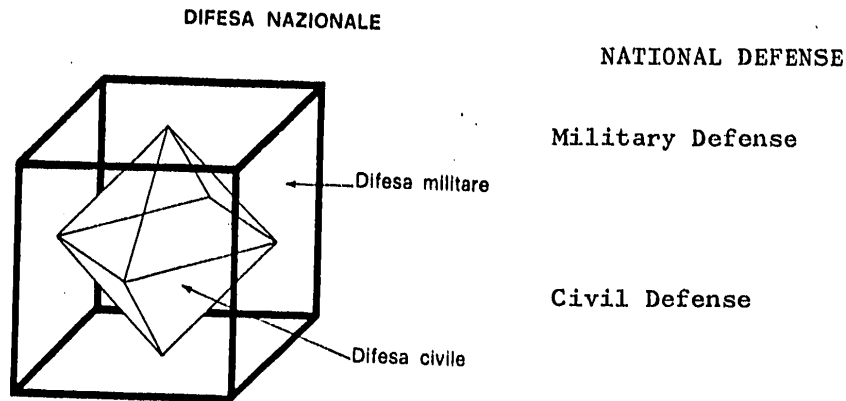
In Italy, our approach to the problems of Civil Defense suffers -- as we have already said -- from the lack of a suitable executive coordinating agency with enough authority to enforce compliance by all responsible agencies with a uniform and concerted national effort, and to implement with scrupulous consistency at the executive level all directives issued in this connection by the proper authority.

The requirement, which stems primarily from the responsibilities of the political authorities, has been stated repeatedly, but the measures thus far taken, mainly in response to particular situations, have not always proved effective, timely, and sound when viewed as a whole.

Insofar as is incumbent upon them, the military authorities -- obviously concerned with the problem -- on 1 February 1962 established the Military Center for Civil Defense. This interforce agency, operated directly by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was set up for the following purposes:

to perform the tasks of coordinating /within the military structures/ civilian emergency studies and plans prepared by other Ministries, and to help in the drafting of such of them as lie within the competence of the Defense Ministry;

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to collaborate, at the national and NATO levels, in the study and definition of emergency plans of special interest to National Defense, in such a way as to insure that the activities called for are correctly stated and carried out;

to share information in the area of Civil Defense with the various government Ministries, gathering and exchanging data relating to it;

to keep abreast of developments in Civil Defense studies at the international level;

to assist in the formulation of national opinions in response to issues raised from time to time by NATO bodies.

Within the sphere of the other Ministries, outside the military sphere, other agencies operate autonomously in varying capacities.

The first such body is the /Civilian Protection and Firefighting Directorate/. PL 996 of 8 December 1970 established this Directorate in the Interior Ministry, for the purpose of undertaking "in concert with the other civilian and military administrative offices of the state, and with the assistance of all territorial and institutional public agencies, the organization of Civil Defense, making provision for emergency rescue and assistance services to populations stricken by natural disaster or catastrophe."

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CIVIL DEFENSE

Continuity of
government
action

Economic and produc-
tion apparatus

Civil Protection

Broadcasting

Transport

Health

As part of its share in performance of the foregoing tasks, the Interior Ministry's major contribution is its operation of the National Fire Department (Vigili del Fuoco).

Also involved in this area on the executive level should be the Regional Offices and Committees for Civil Protection, the Prefectures, and the mobile rescue companies and squads of the Fire Department.

There may also be involvement by special Carabinieri and Police units, as well as by some "auxiliary" organizations, particularly noteworthy among which are the Italian Red Cross, the ham radio operators, the Scouts, and many others (UNUCI, the Service Clubs, the Alpine Club, various charitable organizations, etc.).

The whole matter, however, is currently in a transition stage, partly because the enabling legislation for PL 996 has yet to be enacted; for the auxiliary organizations in particular, there is a need for specific definition of tasks, chain of command, etc. Until now, as reported in the Defense White Book, the Armed Forces have made outstanding contributions in the rescue and succor of populations stricken by grave natural disasters, in the

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sphere of their particular competence in "civilian-military cooperation."

The following agencies are also worthy of special mention:

The Interministerial Supply Commission (CIR). Established on 31 March in the Prime Minister's Office, its mission is to draft legislation and regulations suitable for the ordering, in time of crisis and in the sectors of agriculture, food, and industry (with the exception of petroleum products), of all resources, supplies and storage facilities, distribution, and consumption in line with civilian and military requirements.

The Interministerial Commission for National Transport Studies (CITN). Established on 6 December 1969 in the Prime Minister's Office, it provides input in the form of thinking and technical consultation, and its function is one of coordination in problem-solving and in setting up specific activities relating to surface transport for emergency civilian and military use.

The table of organizations operating in Civil Defense areas at the national level is completed with entries for the more important of them, set up at various times in the past, and having particular responsibility for sectorial coordination:

The Interministerial Working Group for Civil Defense Coordination. Established on 30 May 1973 in the Prime Minister's Office, its mission is:

- to look into the more urgent unsolved problems which have already been under study for some time, such as decentralization of government Ministries, related problems of telecommunications, etc.;

- to study problems of a regulatory nature with a view to increased efficiency in the operations of the several bodies involved in Civil Defense;

- to draft appropriate legislation for setting up the hoped-for "Organization" in the form of a "permanent top-level body for coordination and monitoring of Civil Defense activities."

This group, which includes representatives from several Ministries at the Director-General level, has met only once since its founding, however.

The Technical Coordinating Group for Civilian Emergency Plans. It was established on 13 September 1973 in the General Directorate for Civilian Protection and Firefighting of the Interior Ministry. With authority delegated by the Prime Minister's Office, the president of this body is the Ministry's Director General for Civilian Protection. Its members include representatives

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of all the Ministries concerned, and they meet when necessary to perform such tasks as formulation of national opinions on particular problem areas for presentation at NATO meetings.

The Interministerial Commission for the Study of Industrial Mobilization (CISMI). Founded by a decree on 28 February 1967 in the Industry, Commerce, and Crafts Ministry, its mission is to study and plan for mobilization of industrial plants engaged in work essential to the National Defense.

The Interministerial Civilian Protection Committee. It is to be activated for emergency service by the Interior Ministry under the provisions of PL 996 of 8 December 1970, and its mission is to promote coordination among Civil Protection emergency plans, to consider advance preparation of government intervention plans for rescue operations and following the cessation of the state of emergency, and gathering and spreading of information deemed helpful for the purposes of protecting the civilian population.

Interministerial Technical Commission on Civil Protection. Also set up under Article 3 of PL 996, its task is to lend assistance to the Interministerial Civilian Protection Committee.

National Advisory Commission on the Protection of Cultural Assets in Case of Armed Conflict. Instituted by ministerial decree on 15 January 1962 in the Ministry of Education, and subsequently transferred to the Cultural Assets and Environment Ministry. Its mission is to formulate proposals for the implementation in Italy of The Hague Convention of 14 May 1954 on the protection of cultural assets in the event of armed conflict.

The Interministerial Commission on Evacuees and Refugees (CIER). Founded in 1954, it is headed by the President of the Military Center for Civil Defense Studies. Its mission is to plan operations involving the removal of evacuees and measures for control and relocation of refugees.

Other agencies which have existed only on the occasion of certain exercises are:

The Joint Interministerial Organization for Emergency Repairs (OMIRE), whose purpose was to provide prompt repairs of damage to logistics installations vital to the war effort.

The Central Fuel Committee (CCC), for determining the needs, programming supplies of raw materials and finished products, formulating production schedules, and allocation of available products to meet the needs of the armed forces and the civilian population.

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Conclusions

The outstanding features of Civil Defense thus far set forth here bear witness to the exceeding complexity of its nature.

In practical terms, there is not one Cabinet Ministry that is exempt from at least partial responsibility for Civil Defense. And when one adds to this the fact that in Italy such matters are dealt with by a vast range of subordinate agencies at different levels, each of them turning out studies, proposals, and new activities which in most cases are totally uncoordinated with each other, one can readily see the reason for concern over the limited homogeneous development of Civil Defense in our country. Further, such development as there has been is governed primarily by inadequate and obsolete legislation which it is of vital importance to bring up to date, so as to avoid shortages, shortcomings, confusion, uncertainty, and the like.

It should also be noted that certain quarters (the Interministerial Supply Commission and the Military Center for Civil Defense Studies) have already come forward with practical suggestions of remarkable scope, which will, in any case, provide some helpful input to guide the decisions of the competent national authorities.

Some particularly pertinent studies, having to do with both the supply sector and the top-level organization of Civil Defense, are still under consideration by the competent authorities, and therefore, lacking the blessing of official decision, they still cannot be dealt with here.

We can only say that, insofar as "supplies" are concerned, the CIR study points to some solutions that might be adopted to assure the nation the means of survival in an emergency, while the CMSCD study suggests setting up an organization to provide overall coordination among the various branches of Civil Defense both at the center and on the periphery. Specifically, this central body should also act as a forum with a clear mandate to formulate policy, and hence not necessarily perform only technical functions.

For all these reasons, we have contemplated placing it at the highest possible level of the executive power of the state, outside the military sphere, but within that of the Prime Minister's Office, partly in view of the overall coordinating functions which would be assigned it.

The suggested solutions are also in line with the findings of studies and with the significant implementation achieved on a worldwide scale in the wake of the proliferating social and ecological problems connected with the uncontrolled increase of populations as contrasted with the erratic, inadequate, and

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completely unbalanced increase in the output of consumer goods and products.

In brief, an adequate, carefully planned, and operational Civil Defense will obviate the unknown hazards of hasty improvisation which can yield only inadequate if not actually negative results in the event of any serious peacetime or wartime emergency; together with Military Defense, it can help build a credible deterrent for those who otherwise might contemplate threatening the peaceful existence of the nation.

Maj Gen Pasquale Di Marco is a graduate of the Modena Military Academy Infantry and Cavalry Schools and has held several assignments with the Army General Staff, among them that of Chief of the 1st Detachment. He has commanded the 59th (Calabria) Infantry Regiment and the Legnano Infantry Division. He is currently serving as President of the Military Center for Civil Defense Studies.

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SPAIN

DEMOCRACY IN UCD: POWER STRUGGLE IN LEADERSHIP

Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 5 Nov 78 pp 32,35,37

[Text] In a congress whose outcome was neither as bright as some would have wanted nor as disappointing as others feared it would be, the UCD [Democratic Center Union] sent out its first democratic roots, although a large sector of its base feels it was inadequately represented.

Hours before the close of the First UCD Congress, Joaquin Garrigues, former leader of the Liberal Party, which was absorbed by the government party, and now minister of public works and urbanization, said, with a touch of his own brand of caustic humor, "Me? I'm happy. I managed to place five of my people on the Executive Committee and as many on the National Council of the movement."

Garrigues, perhaps without intending to, was in fact splendidly synthesizing the big show that had been organized to portray a democratic image of the party led by Adolfo Suarez.

The power struggle, which consumed most of the energy of the delegates, and the disenchantment of many of the delegates from the provinces, who on occasions felt that the calendar was being turned back to the days of Francoism, were the two outstanding aspects of the first centrist congress.

A total of 37½ hours of continuous work, over a period of 3 days, 19-21 October, proved to the 1,792 delegates assembled in Madrid's National Palace of Congresses and Exhibitions that the internal tensions among the distinct groups that make up the UCD--democratized Francoists, Christian democrats, liberals and social democrats--still exist and that, for the time being, the 80,000 grassroots militants do not control this party, sired by the gods of power.

The basic facts are that the 11 motions discussed, setting forth the UCD's ideology and its political, economic and social platforms, were adopted by overwhelming majority votes and that not a single proposed amendment reached the floor for open discussion in the plenary sessions.

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The candidacies supported by Suarez went unopposed and became sole candidacies. The urns were used, not to oppose, but rather to rubberstamp the chairman's decisions. More than 30 percent of the delegates, judging from the results of the voting, do not consider themselves represented on the Political Council and on the Executive Committee.

Suarez Wins

Adolfo Suarez's leadership emerged strengthened by the event, which was attended by about a dozen and a half invited representatives of the European conservative parties, and the social democratic trend of the UCD emerged clearly strengthened as the president headed the party toward more progressivism.

Nevertheless, the congress, from its very start, was lively. Everything seemed to be well in the bag and bundled for a clean sweep by the social democrats. But the mayor of Madrid, of the party's Christian democratic wing, was the first to throw cold water on the program.

After a few courteous words of introduction by Suarez, Jose Luis Alvarez lost no time in launching into a half-hour speech embodying a complete political platform, which was vibrantly urged on and applauded by the assembled rank and file. In their box seats the social democrats went pale.

Alvarez, elected the day before to be the UCD's official candidate for the mayoralty of Madrid, with just 2 opposing votes, 2 abstentions and 1 invalid vote out of 22, lashed out full tilt against anything that was not Democratic Center Union, and he explained just how the party should proceed to act. "Let us remember," he said, "who it was that brought democracy to this country. It did not come from the left, nor from 'platajuntas' [see below]. Let us remember the work of Suarez's first government, which brought about the political reform..."

The minister of finance, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, complained: "To say that it was they who brought democracy to the country is a bit much," he said in the presence of CAMBIO 16. "As if the opposition did nothing. Besides, he forgets that some of us, like Alvarez de Miranda and myself, were in the Platajunta [composite name by which the two opposition groups exiled in France during Franco's regime came to be known after merging]."

Joaquin Ruiz-Gimenez, the Christian democratic leader of the ID [Democratic Left], who was cheered by the congress when his name was cited as being among the guests, was also less than satisfied with the mayor's speech. When this newspaper asked him about the possibility of his joining the UCD, he responded, "I personally am prepared to support the UCD party line. However, the decision must be left to my party's congress. Nevertheless, when one hears speeches like that of Jose Luis Alvarez, one experiences serious doubts."

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One member of the UCD's Madrid region executive group called the mayor's speech "electioneering and out of tune."

The commotion stirred up by the mayor started a rumor in the palace corridors that the Christian democrats were preparing a list of candidates to counter those backed by Suarez and that Jose Alvarez would be their candidate for party leader. The mayor of Madrid headed off these comments with a handwritten note, released to us by the congress' press office, denying that he had had any such intent and that his speech was in any way related to any such maneuver. Later he asserted that Suarez had advance knowledge of his speech.

Alejandro Royo Villanova, who attended the congress as a delegate for Valladolid, stated that he did not understand why there should have been such a commotion, since "the chairman and Rafael Arias Salgado both received copies of Jose Luis Alvarez's speech 2 days before the congress."

Defeated

However, hundreds of journalists circulating among the delegates in the corridors, lounges and main hall of the palace were able to sense in the atmosphere the existence of a Christian democratic offensive on two fronts: a debate on the issue of the party's constitution and bylaws and on the proposed list of members for the Executive Committee and the Political Council.

The Christian democrats, advocates, in their own view, of greater democratization of the party, open candidacy lists for elections to the party's directive organs, and nonexistence of any "official" list, saw their proposed amendments demolished, one by one, by the committee on bylaws.

The undersecretary of the Ministry of Justice, Juan Antonio Ortega Diaz-Ambrona, who in the beginning had been excluded from participation in the committee's proceedings and who had succeeded in entering them at the last minute, only because another member had ceded him his seat, was the most active defender of all the proposed amendments. "He has not failed to intervene in a single one of them," said a member of that committee at 6 in the morning on Friday, after 12 hours of debate. "What a man! What vitality!"

The amendments that reached the floor were: that Executive Committee be increased from 30 to 35 members, that this committee be guided by the decisions of the Political Council, and that there be three representatives on the Political Council from each parliamentary group. The amendments proposing that there be three vice presidents and that elections to the Executive Committee be based on a proportional system were killed in committee.

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The Christian democrats, although defeated in the bylaws committee--in the plenary session only 38 votes were cast against them, with 27 abstentions--succeeded in placing 10 members on the Executive Committee, "more independent of the party leadership and of Adolfo Suarez."

The social democrats, for their part, were preparing a counteroffensive. They withheld their trump card until the last moment. Francisco Fernandez Ordonez affirmed, "If there is a second slate, I will present a third one. It won't win in the plenum. After the reaction from the bleachers to Jose Luis Alvarez's speech, it cannot be said that the congress has a social democratic majority. But I will present the slate and we'll see what happens."

A Real Social Democrat

When the comment was made that Sa Carneiro had actually been as loudly cheered as the mayor of Madrid, Francisco Fernandez Ordonez acknowledged indirectly that the Portuguese CDS [Social Democrat Center Party] leader's speech had also been part of his group's strategy. "Sa Carneiro," he said, "is every bit a true social democrat. I caught him just a half-hour before and explained to him that this is not Portugal and that it was most important he lend us a hand."

By noon Friday, 12 hours before the deadline for presenting slates, no one any longer expected the Christian democrats to present one. Tacitly, by then, some of them had recognized that their effort had gone for naught, and their main concern was, like that of the other groups, how many of them would take part in the slicing of the cake.

As the delegates anxiously paced the rooms and corridors of the palace, munched on food or hit the whiskey in the coffee lounge--during these 3 days all previous sales records were exceeded, with daily receipts of over 250,000 pesetas--the lists of candidates began to circulate.

As he walked toward the Palace of Congresses with other delegates, after having dined on veal cutlets in a nearby cafeteria, Arturo Moya, deputy undersecretary to Vice President Abril Martorell, asked jokingly, "Don't you have the same feeling as when, in school, you went to pick up your grades?"

Lists for all tastes passed from hand to hand. However, the real one was being hammered out, since the late evening hours, between Adolfo Suarez and Rafael Arias Salgado, huddled in a simple basement office precisely below the bar.

There must have been a leak, because a little before midnight the second major conflict of the congress exploded, on the issue of the lack of proportional territorial representation.

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The Madrid Committee was the first to mobilize. Working against time, the delegates from the province of Madrid, dissatisfied with the number of places allocated to the province on the party's directive organs, put together a proposed list for the Political Council, headed by Abel Cadiz, chairman of the UCD in Alcala de Henares, who, according to his own estimate, could mobilize 10,000 members.

The list, with strikeouts and blank spaces, was read to the plenary session after presentation of the "official" slate by the chair of the congress, presided over by Perez Llorca, leader of the congress' centrist parliamentary group.

Who Represents Teruel?

When the lists were published, the provinces rebelled. Almeria's reaction was the most contentious. Before stalking out of the palace, the Almeria delegates announced that they would cast blank votes the next day. The Balears, Canarias, Granada and Soria delegations were also fit to be tied.

The Aragonese delegates also considered that they had been slighted and came right to the point. One of the delegates seized Suarez by the sleeve in the assembly hall and said, "We of Aragon will simply not go along with this. How is it that no one is representing us?" The party chairman, embarrassed, could hardly respond. "Well," he said, "for that matter, I'm from Avila, and there is no Avila representative." "No one representing Avila?" exclaimed the Aragonese. "They have you! What more do they want? And what about Teruel...? It has absolutely no one representing it on the slate."

The chairman left, disconcerted. Not to La Moncloa, but to rectify "erratas." The Mallorca delegates, seeing that Santiago Rodriguez Miranda, a social democrat, was on the slate for the Political Council, complained to the chairman. "But what do you mean?" Suarez asked. "Was he not the one you requested?"

The Mallorcans explained that Miguel Duran was the one they had recommended, and Suarez met with Martin Villa, Arias Salgado, Sanchez Teran and Enrique Galavis, who was in charge of organizing the congress. Twenty minutes later the group reappeared, smiling, and the "official" slate for the Political Council, which had been read to the congress, was modified, an hour and a half after the deadline had passed for the submission of candidacies. Rodriguez Miranda was replaced by Miguel Duran for Mallorca, and Enrique Sanchez by Bolea Foralada for Zaragoza.

On the closing day the plenary session started one hour late because of the Madrilenians, who had been caucusing since 9 am in the UNESCO salon. After many discussions the 138 delegates of that province decided to free the delegates to vote as they wished. This was done in order not to com-

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pel the 50 delegates who had been handpicked for the delegation by the party chairman, and who were known as "the Ayete 50," to bite the hand that had picked them. But the remaining 88 had clearly decided to cast blank votes if the list of candidates they had hastily presented the night before was not put to a vote.

It was not. Perez Llorca, in an effort to introduce a measure of competition that would have given the matter a more democratic aspect, explained to the plenary session that, despite the irregularities of the proposed list, the chair wanted the decision to come from the plenum as to whether the list should be put to a vote. The plenum voted "no".

The Almeria delegates also lost no time and called a press conference to explain that they, the province with the most members in the UCD after Barcelona, numbering almost 8,000, with only 2 representatives on the party's directive organs, would cast blank votes. "We have had too many problems with this congress and think we are not represented to the extent we should be," said Francisco Soler Valero, an Almeria deputy. "How am I going to explain to my constituents that I am not to blame, that I fought to the very end but was given no satisfaction?"

Useful Idiots

"What they've done to us has no name," said another Almeria delegate, visibly agitated. "We worked enthusiastically for months and months, then came here with the best intentions in the world to help make the UCD a great party, only to find that everything had been decided and handed down from above and that we are mere extras, useful idiots. There are people here who have not changed in the least and who continue in the old ways of the past."

Despite this activity, however, Rafael Arias Salgado, who would later be elected secretary general as had been planned, displayed great optimism at the bar during the voting. "I'm willing to bet any amount," he said, "that not more than 100 blank votes will be cast. What they say in meetings is one thing, but how they actually vote is another. Don't forget that the voting is secret."

Rumor's Advice

It was evidently not forgotten by the dissatisfied delegates, because in the voting for the Executive Committee and the Political Council about 200 abstained, about 500--almost 30 percent--cast blank votes, and between 25 and 30 invalidated their votes.

This means that, counting abstentions, blank votes and voided ones together, only 61 percent voted affirmatively for the Executive Committee and 58 percent for the Political Council. Suarez was proclaimed party

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chairman with 82 percent of the delegates present voting in his favor.

"It is a sour grapes vote," commented Abril Martorell when he learned of the high percentage of blank votes. "It is the natural reaction of those who failed to get on the ballot and of their entourage."

At the conclusion of the voting the UCD Executive Committee consisted of seven Christian democrats from different constituencies, five liberals, five social democrats--the most active group backing the congress-- five former members of the former Popular Party, and the rest free of any allegiance to Suarez.

All of the ministers are on the Executive Committee--except Gutierrez Mellado, who is not active in the UCD--notwithstanding that the day before the congress closed, Mariano Rumor, president of the World Union of Christian Democrats, cautioned Suarez against having them on the Executive Committee. "If the government goes into crisis," he told him, "you will be saddled with outgoing officials in key positions in the party."

The final apotheosis was provided by Suarez and stars from the world of the performing arts. Suarez evaded the topic of the general elections, railed against the government of "neutrals" and, amid cheers and shouts from his fans--"They envy you!" "You're a genius! Since you were a child!"--criticized the right and gently tweaked the ears of the left lest there be some concern because, for the moment, he seems to be leaning toward the party's most progressive wing.

And so, too, was it understood by Encarnita Polo, who at the stroke of midnight, to the delirium of the delegates, sang four choruses of "Paco, Paco, Paco..."

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SPAIN

BRIEFS

SECURITY SECRETARIAT--Mariano Nicolas, current director general for security, Juan Jose Roson, the civil governor of Madrid, and Antonio Ibanez Friere, the captain general of Barcelona, are the three candidates for the new Secretary of State for Security. With the creation of this new state secretariat, the Public Order Under-secretariat would be abolished. [Text] [Madrid CAMBIO 16 in Spanish 24 Dec 78 p 7]

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SWEDEN

EXPORTS RISE CONTINUES; 1979 SEEN AS EVEN BETTER YEAR

Stockholm VECKANS AFFARER in Swedish 7 Dec 78 pp 5-6

[Text] The forecasters agree -- Swedish exports will continue to climb rapidly next year too. This despite the fact that the biggest purchasing nations will tighten up on their imports. But there is great skepticism about the optimistic predictions of the long-range report for the years after that. That calculation would depend on a big international economic boom at the beginning of the 1980's.

There seems to be widespread agreement on Swedish export developments up to the end of next year:

According to the Market Institute's fall report export volume will rise 7.5 percent this year and 6.5 percent in 1979 (using the calculation methods used for national accounts).

The Federation of Swedish Industries published its "Industrial Market Report" this week. This estimates a 7 percent increase in both 1978 and 1979.

This coincides very well with business plans as measured by the SCB [Central Bureau of Statistics] export survey in November. Businessmen are expecting a value increase in exports of 14 percent this year and 12 percent next year. This corresponds to a volume increase of around 7 percent for each year.

According to the long-range report (LU) which came out Monday, however, export volume will rise an average of 8.6 percent a year in the 6-year period 1978-83.

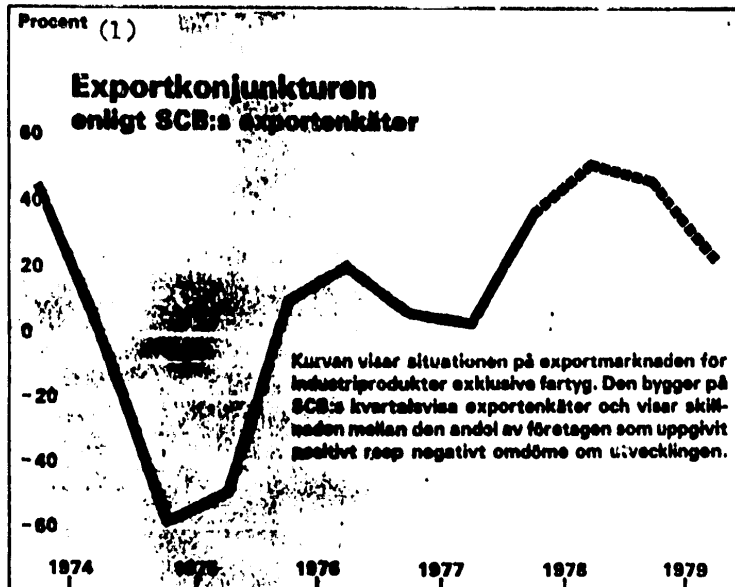
These figures must be regarded as extremely optimistic. With volume increases of 7 percent for the first 2 years of this period -- 1978 and

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1979 -- the average annual increase for the 4-year period 1980-83 would have to be 9.6 percent. The last time the figure was that high was in 1973 when the international economic boom was at its height.

However volume increases of 8-10 percent were common during the boom years in the 1960's. Thus if the international economy returns to the conditions prevailing then it is entirely likely that the LU predictions will prove correct. But right now there is great skepticism about such a development.



Export Market According to the SCB Export Survey

Key:

1. Percentage

The curve shows the export market situation for all industrial products except ships. It is based on the quarterly SCB export survey and shows the difference between the number of firms reporting positive or negative views concerning developments.

Export firms expect that improvement in the foreign market situation will be moderate during the second half of 1979 after the sharp rise this year.

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However LU predicts that some of the big Swedish export increase will be produced by continuing to regain foreign markets. This is assumed at a rate of 1.5 to 2 percent annually, e.g. 10-12 percent for the entire 6-year period.

This makes the forecast much more likely. According to the KI [Market Institute] calculations Sweden's share of the market for manufactured goods (except ships) in the OECD area will grow 8-9 percent in volume during the 2 years 1978 and 1979. In that case a total recovery of 10-12 percent up to 1983 appears quite probable. The improvement in the Swedish market situation this year and next will also affect the first years of the 1980's.

LU estimates that world trade volume will rise 6-6.5 percent per year in the period 1978-83. This would call for an acceleration of the growth rate -- this year the increase in world trade is less than 5 percent and next year it will be only half a percentage point higher.

Big in the "Wrong" Markets

Up to now Sweden has had "bad luck" with world trade. The biggest increases in recent years have come in lands where we export relatively little, such as the United States and Japan. The table below is taken from the "Industrial Market Report" and shows development of product imports (by volume) in 1977-79.

	Share	1977	1978	1979
Norway	12.7	5.3	- 9	0
England	10.9	2	8	4
West Germany	10.1	5.4	7	7.5
Denmark	9.4	- 2.6	0	2.5
Finland	6.0	- 8.5	- 1.5	5.5
United States	5.4	13.6	8	4
France	5.0	1	4.5	5.5
Total	59.5	2	2	3.5
Entire OECD		4.3	5	6

The seven countries in the table are Sweden's most important export markets and account for almost 60 percent of Swedish exports in 1977. But their volume of imports -- weighted according to Swedish export ratios -- is rising slowly. The total increase for the 3 years 1977-79 is only 7.5 percent. At the same time the total import volume in OECD countries rose 16 percent.

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These differences appear clearly in the export survey. Businesses estimate that Swedish exports of industrial products to Nordic countries (28 percent of our total exports) will decline by 8 percent in value. This corresponds to a 10-15 percent decline in volume. Instead there will be big value increases in exports to underdeveloped countries, OPEC countries, the United States and Canada as well as Japan, countries that purchase a total of 20 percent of our exports.

Firms expect next year to be a little better with Nordic exports rising 6-7 percent in terms of value. But the biggest increases will still be in our less important markets, especially those lying outside Western Europe.

The preceding diagram seems to show that businesses anticipate a decline in export prospects toward the end of next year. By and large the growth rate of export value will hold its own. Increases of 16 and 12 percent respectively in the first half and second half of this year compared to the same period last year. An increase of 8 and 1.5 percent respectively for the two halves of 1979.

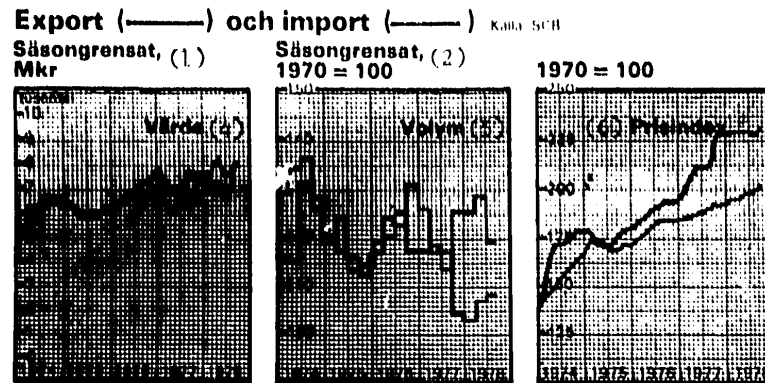
But they don't appear to believe that the market situation will show much improvement after the turn of the year. The number of firms counting on an improved market situation drops from 59 percent in the second half of 1978 to 30 percent in the second half of 1979. The decline is especially noticeable in the area of engineering products.

LU Too Optimistic

The reason for this shift could very well be that firms are cautious when they evaluate the situation a whole year in advance. It should also be noted that over 60 percent of the firms responding expect the market situation to remain unchanged after the big improvements in 1978 and the early part of 1979.

But even with a positive interpretation of the export survey there is no support in business anticipations and market evaluations for the export calculations in LU. These call for a sharp increase in the economic growth rate in the United States and Western Europe in the early part of the 1980's. Of course this possibility cannot be ruled out entirely. But at the moment there is not much to indicate such a change with only a weak recovery in Western Europe and big inflation problems in the United States.

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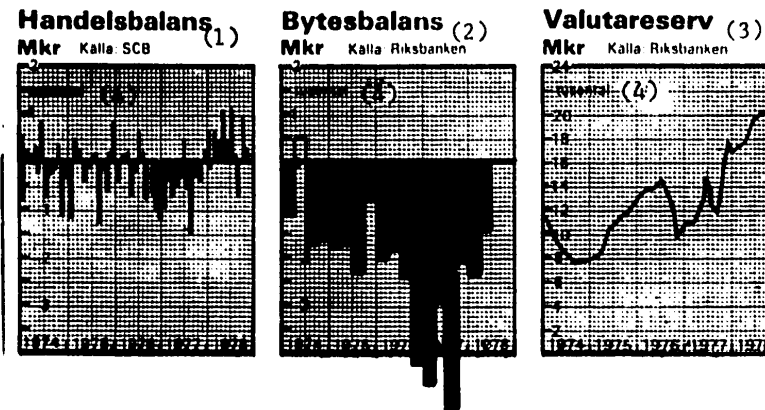


Exports and Imports (Source: SCB)

Key:

- | | |
|---|----------------|
| 1. Seasonally adjusted, in millions of kronor | 4. Value |
| 2. Seasonally adjusted | 5. Volume |
| 3. Thousands | 6. Price index |

From January to October 1978 import value was only 1 percent above the same period last year. Exports rose 16 percent. But now imports are rising again. In October we imported goods worth 9,200 million kronor -- 9 percent more than in October 1977.



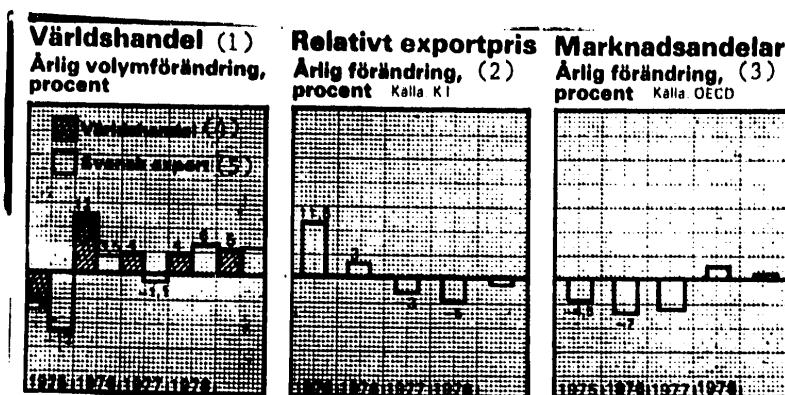
Key:

- | |
|---|
| 1. Trade balance in millions. Source: SCB |
| 2. Exchange balance in millions. Source: National Bank |
| 3. Currency reserves in millions. Source: National Bank |
| 4. Thousands |

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Currency reserves stayed above 20 billion kronor in July, August and September but fell to around 19 billion in October. The balance of trade is still showing a large surplus however and the exchange balance shown has improved somewhat.



Key:

1. World trade, annual volume change in percentages
2. Relative export prices, annual change in percentages.
Source: Market Institute
3. Market shares, annual change in percentages. Source: OECD
4. World trade
5. Swedish exports

The growth rate of world trade is limited to 4-5 percent both this year and next. An improvement will be needed if the LU calculations -- gains of 6-6.5 percent a year from 1978 to 1983 -- are to prove correct.

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WEST GERMANY

SOVIET ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES IN FRG DETAILED

Hamburg STERN in German 9 Nov 78 pp 80, 82, 84, 86, 88

[Article by Juergen Kurth]

[Text] Anatol' Yakovlevich Tsemyanskiy has been a member of the CPSU for 16 years. He also has been a member of the association of banks of Hessen for 4 years. As a communist he is an advocate of dialectical and historical materialism a la Lenin. As a banker he is a consistent believer in the free market economy.

There is no contradiction in this for the 34-year old Soviet man. Because, as he clarifies it for me while drinking a glass of vodka in the executive office of his East-West Trade Bank in Frankfurt, "I am not here in the role of a missionary for socialism but as a businessman."

There are now about two dozen communist capitalists of comrade Tsemyanskiy's type in the FRG. They are part of an advance guard of troops whose number will be greatly increased in the coming years according to a decision of the Kremlin. The goal of the red business troops is: to win profits for the good of the glorious Soviet Union.

How that is done was recently shown by the East-West Trade Bank, which is in all aspects a branch of Soviet state banks, in the presentation of its business report, bound in silvertone, as is the style of bankers. The institute was able to credit its partners in Moscow with a year's profit of DM2,434,200--foreign currency that the traditionally deficient mother country badly needs in its foreign trade.

Other Soviet firms are hardly less profitable in the FRG, for instance, the Schwarzmeer and Ostsee Insurance company (Sovag) in Hamburg (yearly turnover of DM12.6 million); the Transnautic corporation, an overseas shipping agency in Hamburg and Bremen (100 million); the liquor firm Plodimex trade company in Hamburg (25 million); the machine exporting firm Neotype Tekhmasheksport corporation in Bergisch Gladbach (60 million); the Vesotra shipping and transportation corporation in Cologne (10 million); the Sorbren chemicals trade corporation in Duesseldorf (50 million); and the lumber and cellulose firm Russholz corporation in Cologne (300 million).

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Vladimir Milyutenko, who gives away 35,000 issues of his magazine SOWIETUNION HEUTE to interested FRG citizens. Soon Milyutenko, who is also the first secretary of the USSR embassy in Bonn and news coordinator for the Moscow press agency NOVOSTI, wants of course to demand payment of DM6 yearly "to be able to show in color how beautiful it is in the Soviet Union."

The first business principle of the Russians in this country is to avoid any conflict and to carefully observe the laws. Oleg Kirsanovskiy, the head of the Vesotra shipping firm in Cologne, for example, hardly allowed himself one free weekend in his first year in the West. Instead he studied German laws like the constitutional law of business that, inclusive of election procedures and commentary, comprises 1,564 pages.

"We do not want to do anything that is not allowed here, and have to know therefore what is allowed," says Kirsanovskiy.

The Russians can also use their knowledge of the laws for dealing with the German bureaucracy without problems. New arrivals from the East like to call themselves businessmen, members of a board of directors or chairmen on their visiting cards and the trade register. According to German law they are then self-employed and do not have to get a work permit at the department of employment like guest workers from Turkey, Spain, or Austria. "Although I am also a guest worker," Tsemyanskiy says with pleasure, "but I am an employer--that is a great difference, na szorovye."

As entrepreneurs, the Soviet managers adapt themselves totally to their German colleagues. Even in the case of a work conflict they would show solidarity with the employer camp without hesitation. The Soviet firms would go along even if they were asked by the German association of employers to lock out their personnel during certain strikes. Tsemyanskiy: "We act in a way that is usual in the FRG."

In normal times, however, the 100 employees of the East-West Trade Bank company of Frankfurt--including six Russians--can count on the good will of their boss. They are paid as well as their colleagues in the Deutsche Bank and get the usual benefits of bank workers. Besides paying part of the costs of transportation and providing their own cafeteria (specialty: Ukrainian cabbage soup with Frankfurters) they also offer money bonuses for extra hard workers. The best workers are sent to Siberia once a year--for rest. Roselinde Seiffer-Rau, chairman of the business council, who is also the chief of personnel of the bank, says: "No one has ever been fired here."

Doris Fuerbert, official of the union for trade, banks, and insurance companies, also says that the Russians are "not difficult" employers. "If things were in all banks like in theirs, we could be completely satisfied."

The Soviets strive for a proper image with their business partners, too. Tsemyanskiy's trade bank did not forget to praise the Deutsche Bundesbank

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... that business reports, which helped attain a balance of the German money market in 1977 with a series of decisions concerning credit." And the Schwarzmeer and Ostsee insurance company of Hamburg still proudly includes in its list of board of directors Toni Schmuecker, the chief of VW, although he had already given up his mandate in May last year.

It is all the more difficult for the reputation-hungry Soviets to tolerate the accusation that they occasionally act too fiercely in the capitalist competition. For a long time German shipowners have complained that Soviet ships have been offering their freight space at much lower rates than Western shipping companies.

The 58-year old chief of the Transnautic corporation of Hamburg, Konstantin Plyushchnikov, does not tire of denying such charges indignantly: "We are accused of being cheaper because sailors on Russian ships allegedly cost less. But look how many poorly paid Pakistanis sail under German flags."

When things become very difficult Plyushchnikov sends his German partner into battle. Bernhard Dettmer, a Bremen shipowner, has every reason to fight for the Russians. With his 49 million capital investment he is a part of Plyushchnikov's Transnautic enterprise. He confirms: "We calculate according to indisputable business principles."

By means of close work with German partners the Soviet entrepreneurs are trying to stop the possible suspicion of questionable business practices in the FRG. The German firm Simex of Juelich near Aschen has an 11.8 percent share in the vodka and Crimean champagne business of the Russian Plodimex in Hamburg. The Wesotra transportation firm of Hamburg managed by Comrade Oleg Kirsanovskiy has given to Kuehne and Nagel KG of Hamburg, to the Bundesbahn related Schenker and to the trucking firm of the Neckermann son-in-law Hans Pracht a 16 percent share each. Together they ship across the Baltic, down the Volga into the Caspian Sea and on Iran and the Far East.

The Soviet chemicals business under the business name Sobren in Duesseldorf is flourishing with a 49 percent share by the Brenntag AG, which belongs to the Veba concern. Printing machines, electromotors, refrigerators and sewing machines are marketed by the Soviet merchant Sergey Grigoryevich Ishchenko under the name Neotype of Bergisch Gladbach together with the Anton Ohlert KG of Cologne (25 percent share). The enterprises of Gratenau and Hesselbacher of Hamburg and Bremen, F. W. Barth and company, as well as Jacob Juergensen have a 46 percent share in the lumber business of the Russholz firm of Cologne.

Edzard Germelmann of the firm of Anton Ohlert, which has a share in the Soviet enterprise Neotype, answers the question what it is that can persuade a German entrepreneur to do business with the communists: "We have been doing business with Russia since 1871, and as a partner of a Russian firm all doors are open to us in Moscow."

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The strategy of adaptation of the Soviets in the FRG rubs off into their private lives. The comrades act in Hamburg, in Cologne, and in Frankfurt like the native entrepreneurs. Owning exclusively Daimler-Benz models they drive defensively through city traffic. Neotype chief Sergey Ishchenko listens to pacifying Kosack choirs on stereo cassettes in his Mercedes 280 so as "not to drive too fast" in the sharp curves of Bergisch Gladbach.

Wesotra transporter Oleg Kirsanovskiy dared to go into the traffic only with a driving instructor at his side in his Mercedes 280 SE when he came to the capitalist West a year ago. "In Moscow I traveled only by subway," the transportation expert excuses his timid changeover to the fast employer-limousine. His compatriot Konstantin Plyushchnikov, the highest agent of Transnautic of Hamburg, has himself chauffeured for the sake of safety.

Vladimir Milyutenko, the publisher of SOWIETUNION HEUTE, is an exception, who occasionally drinks a little more than the law allows and then drives faster through the streets than the police allow. But he risks this only because he feels secure as an embassy official with his diplomatic plate.

The Soviets live right next to their German neighbors in houses and apartments which they rent through their firms. Most of them are here with their wives and children. Sometimes they even have close contact with the population. The bank director Tsemyanskiy complains: "Recently my daughter Nina had her sixth birthday; our three-room apartment of 75 square meters almost collapsed with all the visitors."

To spare themselves visitors that are too pushy the communists excuse themselves with the explanation that they need rest at home after their hard jobs. When it is their hobbies they are always eager for the company of Germans. Sergey Ishchenko in Bergisch Gladbach does not turn down any opponent from a relaxing game of chess. And the chemicals businessman Vladimir Bykovskiy likes to go looking for mushrooms and fishing. He likes advice from the natives. "Recently I met someone using grapes for trout bait. I tried that too and even got a bite."

Nikolay Nikologorskiy, vice chairman of Sovag of Hamburg, is a passionate soccer player in this Hansa city. Proudly he reports that playing in the Transnautic team he won 4 to 1 against selected taxi drivers of Hamburg and 3 to 1 against the kickers of the Finance Office.

At most the Soviets have problems in the FRG with the education of their children. So far there are Russian schools only at the trade firm in Cologne and at the embassy in Bonn. The 6-year old Nina Tsemyanskiy in Frankfurt had to go to school. "According to Russian law," discusses her father Anatol' the problem, "she does not have to go to school until the age of 7. If it should become necessary I will teach my child myself after work."

Russians do not send their children to German schools on principle. Beside the fact that only a few teachers speak Russian in this country, the parents do not trust what is being taught in German schools, especially history. The

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little Russians would not go far in German classes anyway. Their parents are ordered back to Russia after 3 years, or after 5 years at most. There they teach new cadres in their positions at the foreign trade apparatus, based on their experiences in the West.

By this rotation of personnel more and more Soviet functionaries learn Western managerial science, and the Kremlin gets a more complete view of the Western market from information of its deputies.

This is becoming more and more important for the Soviets, because they are now also starting to increase their exports. The most recent example of marketing made in the USSR: The patent firm Lisenzintorg of Moscow started a cooperation bureau in Essen with the Ferrostaal AG, a trade company of the Gutehoff mines in Oberhausen. The Russians want to sell licenses to the whole world now via this outpost in the Ruhr region. They are offering Soviet techniques for the production of special rollers by centrifugal casting for the production of rolled metal products, or techniques for steam cooling in blast furnaces. The newest hit offered by the Ferrostaal subsidiary firm: a Soviet drug for treatment of cancer.

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